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CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

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COMING ATTRACTIONS

MARCH 8 Muhlenberg College
CLASSICAL LEAGUE OF THE LEHIGH VALLEY

APRIL 4-5 Tufts College
CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

President: Miss Susan E. Shennan, New Bedford High School
Secretary: Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University

FRIDAY PROGRAM

Welcome: President Leonard Carmichael, Tufts College

Papers: Professor Malcolm E. Agnew, Boston University: Lessing's Critical Opinion of the Captivity of Plautus

Professor Blanche Brotherton Cox, Mt. Holyoke College: Classical Scripture

Professor William F. Wyatt, Tufts College: Prophets and Tragedians

Professor George M. Harper, Williams College: Aeschylus Pours New Wine into Old Bottles

Professor Frank P. Jones, Brown University: Anthony Trollope and the Classics

Professor Charles J. Armstrong, Dartmouth College: Mars in Modern Dress

Miss Grace A. Crawford, High School, Hamden, Connecticut: The Sanctuaries of the Mystery Cults

Films: Oedipus Coloneus (in colors), Professor John C. Proctor, S. J., Holy Cross College

The Clouds of Aristophanes (synchronized with Prokofieff's symphonic suite, The Love for Three Oranges), Professor Van Johnson, Tufts College

SATURDAY PROGRAM

Papers: Dr. Robert H. Chastney, Townsend Harris High School, New York: Tiro and his Shorthand
Dr. Walter Allen, Jr., Yale University: The High Society of the Ciceronian Period

Professor Francis M. Rogers, Harvard University: What the Sciences are Telling Linguists about Speech and Hearing

Professor B. L. Ullman, University of Chicago: The Post-Mortem Adventures of Livy

Dr. Richard M. Gummere, Harvard University: The Folklore of Classicism

Dr. R. I. Wilfred Westgate, Phillips Academy, Andover: Ancient Invasions of Britain

APRIL 25-26 Mayflower Hotel, Washington

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

Under the auspices of The Washington Classical Club and its Officers: Miss Mildred Dean, Calvin Coolidge High School, President; Mr. Stephen A. Hurlbut, National Cathedral School, Secretary; Professor Roy J. Deferrari, Catholic University; Dr. George C. Duncan; Mrs. M. G. Murphy, Woodrow Wilson High School; Dr. John F. Latimer, George Washington University

Reservations for the annual Dinner Meeting are now being received by the Washington Committee; room reservations go directly to the Mayflower Hotel.

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

The Linguistic Institute will be held this summer at the University of North Carolina from June 12 to July 19. A faculty which is to include Edgar H. Sturtevant, Roland G. Kent, Franklin Edgerton, George S. Lane, Ephraim A. Speiser, Hans Kurath and Urban T. Holmes, Jr., will offer courses in Linguistic Science, Phonetics, Old Irish, Early Welsh, Sanskrit, Tocharian, Lithuanian, American Dialects, Semitics, Algonquin and many others. Address inquiries to Professor Urban T. Holmes, Jr., Director of the Linguistic Institute, Box 348, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The fourth summer meeting of the Linguistic Society of America will be held at Chapel Hill on July 11 and 12.

REVIEWS

L'Écriture latine de la capitale romaine à la minuscule. 54 plates accompanied by descriptive text. By JEAN MALLON, ROBERT MARICHAL and CHARLES PERRAT. Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris 1939 250 fr.

This neat and convenient portfolio contains 85 facsimiles of specimens of Latin script, together with separate and complete accessus supplying identification, source, date, transcription and bibliographical references. The authors are particularly to be complimented upon the tidy and practical arrangement of their portfolio, the clearness and verisimilitude of the photographs and the small and convenient format of the leaves. Here is another sample of the neat and tasteful bookmaking we have learned to expect from the French.

Material has been selected on the basis of its importance for study of Latin script. The authors deplore the subjective interest or limited focus of previous collections. Their aim is to exhibit the development from the ancient Roman capital through the vicissitudes of nine centuries to the minuscule of the Caroline period. To this end examples have been collected from monumental and inscriptional remains (1-8), documents (9-38) and book scripts (39-85). Three completely new specimens are presented, while a dozen or more published elsewhere are here reproduced for the first time. A number of others have been gathered together from scattered and specialized publications, some difficult of access. Material drawn from papyrus finds of the last half century is of particular value because many documents bear exact and early dates. These stand out among the principal contributions of the book, in contrast to the familiar specimens included in widely used palaeographical collections. In the case of the well-known codices, however, the authors have endeavored to present, wherever possible, hitherto unphotographed folios.

The first 65 facsimiles abundantly represent a variety of cursive and majuscule scripts. Thus we find the major portion of the album devoted to the scattered remains of the first six centuries. The portfolio ends (84-5) with an example of the humanistic script, placed side by side with a fifteenth-century printed page, both to be compared with ninth-century facsimiles to show that the print we use today is in verity nothing more or less than the Caroline minuscule. The demonstration is easily made. But of manuscripts actually written in the Caroline script, the climax of ancient writing and its link with modern times, we are supplied with the most meager assortment—four only from the ninth century. Of formative hands and transitional minuscules the selection is again too scant, but well chosen and as representative as its numerical limits allow, for

the dozen examples from the eighth century include Anglo-Saxon as well as traditional continental types, i.e., Corbie, Luxeuil, Tours, Soissons, Besançon, St. Gall, North and South Italy and Visigothic (the latter from the early ninth century), while two examples show seventh-century styles.

It is ungrateful and unfair to complain that the manual does not contain what its title and scope expressly eliminate. Some of us might nevertheless wish that this collection had not followed the time-worn tradition of confining itself largely to the periods and types—cursive and capitals of the first six centuries—which, however fascinating in themselves and fruitful in their implications, are of less practical importance to the majority of palaeographers and which should claim a more modest fraction of the novice's attention, as they already occupy a disproportionate amount of space in many familiar portfolios of palaeography. We should have liked to see a more generous representation for the period whose remains are vastly more abundant and whose hands are more varied. Our protest is that this excellent collection ends too soon.

We venture to hope that the authors will gratify us with a second fascicule, of the same merits as the first, beginning anew with the Caroline minuscule and carrying the study through the later centuries of the mediaeval period to include that era, rich alike in literary manuscripts and in styles of script, which we miss from the present volume.

HILDA BUTTENWIESER

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Classical Civilization: Greece. By HERBERT NEWELL COUCH. xxix, 577 pages, frontispiece, 153 figures, 1 map. Prentice-Hall, New York 1940 \$3.50

In these Greekless days various devices have been found for introducing students to the treasures of Greek civilization. Of these devices (most recently discussed by John L. Caskey, *The Classics in Translation and the Liberal Arts*, CJ 36 [1940] 92-100), a course in Hellenic civilization, historically approached, seems preferable to courses in Greek literature in translation. It is evidently to meet the needs of students taking a course of this nature that Professor Couch has written the book under review. He begins with a chapter on the physical geography of Greece and ends with Lucian and Longus, covering the entire span of Hellenic culture; "chapters on historical themes have been interspersed as a necessary background to the study of cultural topics" (Preface ix).

Perhaps we had better follow the author as he unfolds his panorama. Chapter II is entitled *The People of Greece*; Their Festivals. Chs. III and IV dispose of

the Minoan-Mycenaean Culture and the Homeric poems. Ch. V, The Settlement of Greece, contains a section on The Establishment of Government. Ch. VI, Social Discontent in Athens, includes an account of Peisistratus' tyranny. Ch. VII, Sculpture in the Archaic Age; Ch. VIII, The Poetry of a Transitional Society; Ch. IX, The Birth of Scientific Enquiry—which begins with Thales and ends with Hippocrates; Ch. X, From Cleisthenes to the End of the Persian Wars; Ch. XI, Herodotus; Ch. XII, Athens during the Early Fifth Century—which includes the Periclean Age; Chs. XIII and XIV deal with Greek Tragedy, XV with Architecture, XVI with the Sculpture of the Fifth Century and XVII with Greek Arts and Crafts. Ch. XVIII brings an account of the Peloponnesian War. Ch. XIX deals with Thucydides, Xenophon and Aristophanes, Ch. XX with the Sophists and Socrates. Ch. XXI recounts the political struggles of the fourth century and includes Alexander's conquests. Ch. XXII is The Sculpture of the Fourth Century. Ch. XXIII combines Oratory and the Middle Comedy, Ch. XXIV Plato and Aristotle. Ch. XXV presents in 16 pages a sketch of the political history of Greece in the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods, from 323 B.C. to 330 A.D. The three closing chapters deal with the literature and sculpture of the period. Here we miss a treatment of the significant developments in religion and philosophy; indeed, the revolutionary change from city-state Greece to the cosmopolitan post-Alexander world is hardly touched upon. But perhaps the student may be referred to Ferguson's illuminating chapter in CAH (Vol. VII, ch. 1).

From this hasty recapitulation of the contents it may be seen that Professor Couch's book covers the whole field of Hellenic endeavour. There are, of course, the inevitable slips. It is said of Achilles that "apart in his tent (he) prayed to his goddess mother" (73). There is an evident confusion between the dislocations caused by the Dorian invasion and the colonization movement proper (96-7). Cleisthenes' reform is spoken of as "a marked departure from the former division of the city into four tribes, based on wealth" (175). And how many historians will agree that Sparta in 480 B.C. had played "a noble part in resisting the invaders" (189)? It is an overstatement to say that "immediately" after the battle of Eurymedon "the various states determined to withdraw from the Delian Confederacy" (206). Thespis is credited with having introduced the prologue (213). Harmodius and Aristogeiton are said to have been "put to death by the angry throng of citizens" (281, but see Thucydides 6.54-9).

Nor is it always easy to agree with the judgments pronounced. It is, to say the least, strange to find in a paragraph discussing Homer's place in antiquity (72) Homer's part in the guidance of life restricted to the

teaching of selfknowledge and moderation. Has the author heard no faint echo of that Homeric clarion call *αἰεὶ ἀποτείειν?* And it is rather odd to find the swash-buckler Archilochus classified under 'Pessimistic Poetry' (149).

However these are minor matters and if the author's objective was to convey a certain amount of information on Hellenic culture, he may be said to have succeeded in his task.

But Professor Couch intended to give us not a *description* but a *history* of Greek civilization; as such his work falls within the realm of 'Kulturgeschichte.' It was, therefore, his task as a 'culture historian' to examine the tangle of political and religious institutions of the Hellenic polis by which the community contrived to hold the citizenry together for the common good and to inspire each individual to perform his own *ἀποτελεῖα*. And furthermore it was his task to integrate his material into a clearly conceived synthesis. This is exactly what he has failed to do, and chiefly, I believe, through a lack of understanding of the meaning of the terms 'culture' and 'civilization' as currently employed by the social sciences. We do not blame him greatly, for classicists, as a rule, have neither great love for nor knowledge of the social sciences, and are too busy to get properly acquainted. Conversely the social scientists betray very little interest in the classics, lavishing their devotion on the dreary American Indian. What a boon it would be if the classicist and the social scientist could meet, and the latter discover that there is no better illustration of his teaching than that same Hellenic civilization!

Now to the anthropologist and the ethnologist 'culture' means the totality of social heritage, both material and spiritual, the folkways and mores which determine the "way of life" of a particular group. In the more primitive societies such a culture is simple and harmonious and there is a relative absence of inner conflict. Tradition rules (*νόμος βασιλεύς*, as the Greek has it). On the higher levels this culture may grow into a genuine civilization (as it did in Hellas) embracing both 'those general attitudes, views of life and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world.' 'Culture' thus becomes nearly synonymous with the 'spirit' or the 'genius' of a people, but also "includes a series of concrete manifestations which are believed to be peculiarly symptomatic" of this spirit or genius (E. Sapir, Culture, Genuine and Spurious, A.J.Soc. 39 [1924] 405). Such a concept of civilization lies at the basis of Werner Jaeger's *Paideia* and makes it so interesting and stimulating a book. "Arete," he says, "was the central idea of all Greek culture." Professor Couch does not mention the word. His method is different. He fights shy of any involvement in value judgments. He evidently wishes to present an *objective* picture of the

Greek civilization, forgetting that history *is* interpretation and therefore *subjective*. He approaches the manifestations of Greek genius from their technical side. Now this is perhaps pedagogically excusable in the case of architecture, but even when he comes to deal with the drama he begins his explanation of "the meaning of Greek tragedy" by introducing the reader to Aristotle's analysis and we learn first about catharsis, hamartia, peripeteia, etc. before we are allowed to open our Aeschylus (215ff.). Now it is evident that this treatment of "cultural topics" cannot be made into history by "interspersing chapters on historical themes."

Moreover the central fact in the history of Greek civilization is the city-state. Within the polis both Greek folkways and Greek genius are revealed in a complex of religions and social institutions wherein lay the roots of all Hellenic poetry and art and architecture. Only in the light of this basic fact do the manifestations of Greek genius become intelligible and in no other civilization did these arts so completely serve social needs. But Professor Couch pays scant attention to religion; of the tremendous part it plays as a social factor in Greek life he is imperfectly aware; indeed he seems to labor under the delusion that religion is an intellectual matter, dealing with beliefs and moral and ethical ideas (387). And so, by neglecting to pay due attention to the institutions of the polis as the social milieu, nay as the very matrix of Hellenic civilization, he has deprived himself of the coordinating factor that would have made a synthesis possible. Hence the arrangement of his material becomes somewhat haphazard. Why does he introduce sculpture as part of his account of the sixth century while architecture is postponed until he has disposed of the political developments of the Periclean Age?

In short we are forced to the regretful conclusion that this book is neither a history nor a purely descriptive record of Greek civilization and that the author would have done much better to confine himself to the writing of the latter kind of book, for which he is well qualified.

N. P. VLACHOS

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Sarn Helen, a Roman Road in Wales. By MORRIS MARPLES. 45 pages, frontispiece, 9 maps. Welsh Outlook Press, Newtown (1939) 2s. 6d.

A reasonably diligent perusal of this brochure has failed to reveal virtues which might commend it to either the professional antiquarian or the more general reader. The author and his wife "walked the whole length of Sarn Helen from north to south" from the terminus at Caerhun to Carnarthen and Naeth, the two lower termini of "Helen's Causeway." The literary style of the resulting pamphlet is no less pedestrian than the

exploration itself; the maps should have been lettered by a draughtsman and should have given much more supplementary aid to orientation; the inclusion of minimum footnote references to the results of recent excavation at Caerhun, Caer Llugwy and the several other Roman settlements en route would have been a step in the direction of scholarship which might have been helped out by some original description and discussion, however meagre; the evaluation of this highway in its relationship to the civil and military history, and to the communicational system, of western Roman Britain would have been a useful contribution. The author however expands into forty-five pages of blow-by-blow detail what might better have been dismissed in two or three, and unerringly avoids treatment of historical and archaeological implications even when he clearly recognizes their existence—such as "the question of the name, which is of very great interest," the presumed pre-Roman existence of parts of the road, the structural nature of the road, all antiquities found on its course, and much else. His investigations are admittedly incomplete, and his judgments are usually inconclusive.

HOWARD COMFORT

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

Saint Augustine: Christian or Neo-Platonist?

From his retreat at Cassiciacum until his ordination at Hippo. By SISTER MARY PATRICIA GARVEY. (iii,) 267 pages. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee 1939

For fifteen centuries, as the author of this well written dissertation points out, St. Augustine's account of his conversion, so vividly related in the *Confessions*, had been accepted at face value. It was only toward the close of the nineteenth century that his story was questioned. Had not the Saint, it was asked, reinterpreted, albeit unwittingly, his religious experiences at the time of his conversion in the light of the more profound study which he later devoted to Christian teachings?

After the famous scene in the garden of Milan, during which he was finally won to Christianity, he had retired with his mother and a group of friends and relatives to Cassiciacum, the country home of Verecundus, a friend and fellow-teacher. Here philosophical discussions had occupied much of their time. Thanks to a stenographer who was present, the substance of these discussions was later incorporated in his *contra Academicos*, *de beata vita*, *de ordine*, and *soliloquia*. These four dialogues, together with four letters written during the sojourn at Cassiciacum, constitute the only really contemporary evidence that we possess of Augustine's thought during the period immediately preceding his baptism. The *Confessions* were not written until nearly

thirteen years later, after he had become Bishop of Hippo.

Since 1888 the years intervening between the writings at Cassiciacum and the *Confessions* have taken on great significance for scholars, and the problem of the precise historical value to be attached to Augustine's account of his conversion is one with which they have frequently been preoccupied. In other words, they wish to know whether in 386 Augustine was converted to Christianity or to Neo-Platonism.

In view of the extensive literature of more or less controversial nature which has been devoted to the subject, it was with some misgivings that this reviewer turned to Sister Mary Patricia's analysis of the question. But misgivings of any sort were unwarranted for, although the author has added nothing new in the strict sense of the word, her thorough and logical discussion of the whole question is a genuine contribution to Augustinian scholarship. The fact that it is the only detailed critical presentation of the subject in English further enhances its value.

This study comprises: (1) A clear statement of the problem and a critical summary of the literature pertaining to it (Chapter I). (2) A brief analysis and comparison of the fundamental principles of Christianity and Neo-Platonism together with a critical examination of the *Confessions* and the *City of God* for evidence indicating that Augustine was aware of any difference between the two doctrines (Chapter II). (3) A careful analysis of Augustine's works written not only at Cassiciacum, but at Milan, Rome, and Tagaste as well (Chapters III-VI). (4) A conclusion aptly summarizing the results of the analysis (Chapter VII). (5) An excellent bibliography with critical comment. There is also an index.

The diversity of opinion expressed by previous investigators, the author maintains, is due to the fact that merely subjective norms have been relied upon to determine what constituted Christian spirit and content. In order to avoid a similar error certain definite criteria are established by analyzing and comparing the basic principles of Christianity with those of Neo-Platonism. The two systems, despite numerous points of contact and apparently close affinities, are shown to be quite incompatible. They differ from each other in three essential points: in their doctrine of God, in their theory of the origin of the universe, and in their teaching on the nature and destiny of man.

It is in providing these objective norms that Sister Mary Patricia has made her most valuable contribution. By applying them to the works St. Augustine wrote in the period between his stay at Cassiciacum and his ordination to the priesthood at Hippo, it is clearly revealed that he was converted to Christianity in 386, since they contain doctrines which are fundamentally Christian. There is evidence, however, that Augustine's

knowledge of certain teachings—the purpose of the Incarnation, the mission of the Holy Spirit, the resurrection of the body, and the necessity of infant baptism—was inaccurate, but as the years elapsed, his understanding of Christian truths developed and deepened, and so his inadequate notions were corrected.

The frequent use of Neo-Platonic terms in the earlier writings was intentional; Augustine considered them helpful in explaining Christian dogmas. Later, in the seventh book of his *Confessions*, he enthusiastically acknowledges the assistance the Neo-Platonists had given him, yet he condemns their serious faults and points out the errors which vitiated their doctrines, sublime though they were. It should be noted that the Neo-Platonic vocabulary seems to have caused no particular difficulties to Augustine's contemporaries. It was not until later ages that confusion arose.

SISTER MARY EMILY KEENAN
NAZARETH COLLEGE

The Annals of Tacitus, Book XIV. By E. C. WOODCOCK. ix, 186 pages, 4 plates, 2 maps. Methuen, London 1939 4s.

Just as the world of classical scholarship feels lasting regret for the tremendous losses in the manuscripts of Tacitus, it has an equally enduring interest in him as one of the great historians of the world. This interest, together with the numerous problems connected with the study of the greatest historian of the Roman Empire, has caused the number of articles and books on Tacitus to be legion. Teachers especially will welcome Woodcock's edition of Annals XIV, the sole separate edition of this book.

The editor is grateful (preface, v) that access to Rostagno's excellent photographic reproductions of the two Medicean manuscripts allowed him to use the Second Medicean as his authority for the text, which he has emended in several places by choosing between readings suggested by previous authorities. The reasons for the choice of a certain reading are usually given in his notes. Woodcock has followed Koestermann in numbering the sub-sections.

The preface fills pages v and vi, the introduction pages 1-54, the text 55-84, notes 85-153, an index to the notes 154-8, and an index of proper names 159-60. It is well that the preface (v) calls attention to the vocabulary (161-86), for the table of contents does not list it.

The first four pages of the introduction contain a succinct statement on the life and works of Tacitus. The editor has not availed himself of the latest research on the date of Tacitus' proconsulship of Asia; that problem was well studied and satisfactory conclusions established by Dr. A. I. Suskin, *The Date of Tacitus' Proconsulship*, *AJA* 40 (1936) 71-2.

The account of Tacitus as an historian (4-10) serves its purpose admirably by stating in brief scope some ancient and modern views on the duty of the historian and giving apt quotations from Tacitus to show his attitude and purpose in the writing of history, together with some remarks on the credibility of Tacitus, his honesty in the handling of facts, and his chief sources.

The editor states (10) that the narrative of Tacitus "is the most valuable record that has come down to us of any part of Roman antiquity." This statement, if weighed carefully, would have to be made less sweeping, it seems to the reviewer. There is no reason for such a broad generalization when one considers such records as the great mass of epigraphic and numismatic materials, to say nothing of Livy and the minor historians.

The editor has devoted some 22 pages (11-33) to a summary discussion of Tacitus' style and syntax, noting especially the historian's characteristic of avoiding the same method of expression in parallel elements, his brevity, and his fondness for sententiae. In elaborating the editor makes this comment: "The common impression given by Silver Latin literature is one of artificiality and affectation." With limitations, this statement is true, but the emphasis is misleading to the uninitiate.

Section IV of the introduction (33-8) presents a summary statement of Nero's reign. The influence of Seneca and Burrus over Nero, the imperial machinations, intrigues, and crimes, the half-pathetic figure of the emperor seeking the plaudits of the idle populace, the great fire, the revolts in the provinces, the death of Nero, and his posthumous fame (notoriety is a better term) are the topics of this section.

The career of the able Cn. Domitius Corbulo in Armenia is the theme of section V in the introduction (38-46), though the greater part of it is beyond the chronological limit of Annals XIV. Because of the difficulties with Parthia and the necessity of fixing the status of Armenia (in 54 A.D.) Corbulo was chosen for the job. The brief account of matters in the east here recorded is as clear as any could be, but most students will need more details in order to understand fully the problems of the east, and the settlements effected by Corbulo.

Attention must be called to a few minor errors. Near the bottom of page 33 is a statement that the extent of Agrippina's pretensions "can be judged from the fact that her head appears on coins on an equality with Nero's," with a reference to footnote 2 which refers to the illustration on the opposite page. This is a head of Nero alone; evidently the illustration intended is the one of the heads of Agrippina and Nero on the same coin, facing page 65. A bust of Domitius Cor-

bulo, facing page 48, would be more appropriately placed in the section dealing with Corbulo in Armenia. In the notes (106) Julius Caesar is called a "successful gangster." To me this seems to be an error, and misleading. On page 133 occurs Lugudunensis for Lugdunensis; "would would" (152) undoubtedly means "who would." Oportet is said (177) to mean 'it behoves.' This usage can be defended, but it is unusual.

The index of proper names (159-60) is incomplete. Otho (chapter 1), Poppaea (1, *passim*), Acte (2), Aceronia (5), Valerius Capito (12), Burrus and Seneca (52), Seneca (53) and many others in the text do not appear in the index.

The editor has done, on the whole, commendable work. The size and format of the book are attractive. The illustrations are well chosen; some of them have rarely been seen in America. The inclusion of a vocabulary is especially to be praised.

BENSON W. DAVIS

STETSON UNIVERSITY

Les adverbes grecs en -θεν. By MICHEL LEJEUNE. 444 pages. Éditions Delmas (Bordeaux) 1939 (Collection des Publications de l'Université de Bordeaux, No. 3)

Professor Lejeune's exhaustive compilation of the examples of adverbs ending in *-θεν* was initiated by Meillet in 1930-1, and owes much also to the "affectueuse et vigilante bienveillance" of Vendryes. "The purpose of the present work is to investigate the most ancient forms and uses of the element *-dh-, starting with the Greek examples." In other words, the Greek forms in *-θεν*, *θι*, *-θεν(v)*/*-θα*.

Commencing with an *Aperçu Historique*, Lejeune runs over the divergent explanations of Bopp (1858) and Pott (1859) for the etymology of these forms. Ahrens' view that Greek had two series of adverbs, one denoting the 'place from which' and the other 'place where,' is approved. Other nineteenth-century and twentieth-century discussions of the words are brought in to show that to all these investigators, including Brugmann and Hirt, the origin of the forms is really obscure.

Of the collected material, the pronominal forms *ἐπέθεν*, *οτέθεν* and **φέθεν* are treated first, examples from the Iliad and Odyssey being generously quoted; and comparisons with other types of genitive pronominal forms found therein made numerically. The Homeric *-θεν* forms are more emphatic in meaning than the others, though the requirements of versification and different dialectal sources are controlling factors. Examples are drawn for this chapter also from later prose writers and poets.

Lejeune goes on to present, in other chapters, a complete discussion of the forms in *-θεν* of the type

oīkoθev in Homer, from the point in view of derivation and meaning. To this are added, in Chapter IV, examples from later prose writers (Le Type *oīkoθev* après Homère).

With equal clarity and completeness the uses of the type represented by *oīkoθi* and the series *πόθev*, *πόθi*, *πότε* and *ἐθa*, *ἐθev* are discussed.

For the comparative linguist, the book presents the latest study by a competent authority of the etymology of the forms treated; and for the general scholar its value lies in making available in convenient form (there is a good index) a tremendous collection of material on the subject. The book is a veritable concordance of the -*θev* (and related) forms in Greek literature.

In order to meet the situation whereby copies of this book are next to impossible to obtain from abroad, at least for the present, the reviewer will be glad to lend his copy to any interested scholar.

HENRY PHILLIPS, JR.

PHILLIPS ACADEMY, EXETER

Urbanization and the Franchise in Roman Gaul.

By NORMAN J. DEWITT. v, 72 pages. Lancaster 1940 (Dissertation: distributed privately)

A selection of chapters (the author calls them papers) from a larger study presents certain phases of the process of Romanization in Gaul. An exceedingly brief review of conditions in Pre-Roman Gaul is followed by a discussion of the policies of Caesar and Augustus, constituting the first paper; the second deals with the process of urbanization; the third with the extension of the franchise by Roman magistrates. The author reaches the conclusions that Gallic institutions were so similar to Roman that the Gauls were easily drawn into the imperial system. Recognizing this condition along with the fact that there was a strong pro-Roman group among the Gauls, Caesar and Augustus adopted a tolerant attitude and made few changes in local arrangements. The chief act that seemed a blow to Gallic pride was the taking of the census. In return for the order brought by Roman rule and for the protection provided by Roman armies on the Rhine frontier (to be paid for by the Gauls, according to the census) the Gallic states themselves erected the Altar of Rome and Augustus and made it a distinguished rallying point for loyal servants of Rome.

The second paper is of great significance. The author maintains with ample documentation that towns had already developed in Gaul and that the policy of urbanization generally attributed to the Roman imperialists was on the whole unnecessary. The Romans, he holds, made no particular effort to force the growth of towns, indicating that the word *colonia* is used loosely to denote a settlement rather than an active colony of Roman veterans. He further argues that the

growth of new towns or the moving of old ones from hilltops to sites more readily accessible was due to the economic conditions attendant upon Roman peace rather than to pressure from the imperial administration. To this chapter is appended a comprehensive and useful index of Gallic towns, with modern identifications, site descriptions and ancient references.

The third paper deals with the enfranchisement of individuals in Gaul. This seems to have been the work of individual governors acting under the authority of their office and bestowing rewards for meritorious service. The evidence presented shows that it began in 125 B.C. and continued into the imperial period. The extent to which this action was practised is rather surprising. Its implications in the whole study of the extension of Roman citizenship are most important and it is deserving of further study. An index of Julii and Claudii follows.

These studies are very well done and well worthy of publication. They are clearly written and well-documented. They labor under the handicap which is always present when part of a study is presented. The reviewer wants to ask many questions. Was the pre-Caesar growth of towns due to Roman influence extending from the Province? What part in the final conquest and absorption was played by those Gauls who had received individual grants of Roman citizenship? These questions along with many others about pre-Roman Gaul where the author's summary but excites the reader's curiosity are doubtless answered in the complete work which it is to be hoped will be presented in due season.

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Gli Eleati, Testimonianze e Frammenti. Edited by PILO ALBERTELLI. 250 pages. Laterza, Bari 1939 (Filosofi Antichi e Medievali) 30 L.

Most of the Italian translations of Greek philosophical texts published by Laterza at Bari contain bibliographies. The latest volume does not, and the translator and editor, Pilo Albertelli, remarks apologetically that circumstances "known to everybody who frequents libraries" have forced upon him "a certain lack of uniformity in citations." Elsewhere he says that he has not seen a certain book, "but its thesis is well known to me." It should not be inferred, however, that Albertelli has not kept well abreast of publication in his field; his footnotes tell the story, and there we find Jaeger and Burnet and Hack, Fraenkel and Solmsen and Tannery and the contemporary Italians, along with the older writers. In fact I doubt if Albertelli has missed anything very vital.

The plan of the volume is very similar to that of

W. Capelle's *Die Vorsokratiker* (Leipzig 1935), but it is in all respects a much better book. Whereas Capelle has professed to translate "alles von Belang," a dangerous phrase, Albertelli has really translated everything of Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus. (Capelle in fact left Melissus out altogether, a cavalier procedure, no matter what the 'Belang' of this philosopher. Excellent brief introductions are proportioned as follows: Xenophanes, 20 pages; Parmenides, 6; Zeno, 7; and Melissus, 3.

The editor has taken his texts ("naturalmente," he says) from the 1934 edition of Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Any variations from the text of Diels he explains in the Notes. But the Notes go further than this, for they furnish a brief and useful résumé of the critical battles which have raged around each important pronouncement of the Eleatics. Since the Germans have made this particularly their field, it is not surprising to find the editor referring with deference to such names as Wilamowitz, Kranz, Kern, and Meyer. One finds also, naturally, the names of Cornford, Calogero, Corsen, and others, but the Germans are certainly in the majority. This is not to say that Sig. Albertelli follows the German critics blindly. Of Freudenthal, for example, he says wittily that he has attempted "precisare l'imprecisabile," and after quoting Freudenthal's assertion that the many gods in Xenophanes are part of a single god, he remarks shrewdly that one should be on guard against any such "linguaggio spinoziano," adding that Wilamowitz makes it clear that Greek religion did not recognize such a problem as is here implied. As a matter of fact, Albertelli is very skeptical about the monotheism of Xenophanes, and indeed he thinks that the single God mentioned by Xenophanes is in no wise personal, but is the Ouranos. He is also disinclined to believe, in spite of Clement of Alexandria, that Xenophanes ever wrote a book on Nature (*περὶ φύσεως*). Perhaps he is too suspicious of Clement; on page 132, note 1, he repudiates Diels' translation of Parmenides, *τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸν νοῦν ἐστί τε καὶ εἶναι*, 'denn dasselbe ist Denken und Sein,' with the remark that "Diels allowed himself to be influenced by Clement of Alexandria." But surely the translation is a simple matter-of-fact one, Clement or no Clement. Like Zeller, like Burnet, Albertelli is reluctant to believe that Parmenides here means what he says; this though he reserves his chief admiration for Parmenides, saying he is "come un gigante."

In line with his general commendable disinclination to see ancient philosophy through modern spectacles is the editor's complaint of "ridiculously idealistic" interpretations of Parmenides; he rebukes Bauch for comparing Parmenides to Descartes ("ganz Descartes gleichbar!"), and Stenzel for finding in the Eleatic philosophy foreshadowing of Kant ("presentimento kan-

tano"). Yet being only human, when he reaches Zeno, he is himself driven to footnote references suggesting comparison with Hegel's *Wissenschaft der Logik* and Spinoza's *Ethica*.

Clear in exposition, sensible and pungent in argument, Albertelli is candid enough to say at one dubious point, "There is no decisive argument for either thesis."

Misprints are rare: I have noted "in non essere" on page 51, where "il non essere" will make the necessary sense: a slip like "Grec Language" (235) is less annoying, because the correction is obvious.

Altogether this little volume is well worth while, as meaty as it is modest. In particular it is a wholesome antidote to the over-subtle exegesis of critics like Reinhardt. Unlike those over-refined theorists, Albertelli always remembers that such a philosopher as Xenophanes is essentially "pensatore molto elementare."

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Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy. An Analysis of the Sources. By KURT VON FRITZ. xii, 113 pages. Columbia University Press, New York 1940 \$2 ✓

Professor von Fritz is modest about the scope of this careful contribution to a difficult subject. If the title should awaken in the impatient reader's breast expectations of a complete political history of the Pythagoreans, the preface will lead him back to a soberer view. The author is at pains to point out that the only useful procedure is to sift the material and determine what is fairly certain and what only more or less probable. To this end he analyzes the confused tradition, particularly the key passages in the Lives of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus and in Diidorus and Justin.

Chapter I (3-26) sets about the task of reconstructing Aristoxenus's account of the Pythagorean order on the basis of Porphyry and Iamblichus. The central passage is Iamblichus V. P. 248-51, which von Fritz shows to be entirely from Aristoxenus, and which alone gives a satisfactorily detailed account of the latter stages in the history, after the catastrophe in Milo's house at Croton. Both this passage and the others which can be certainly or probably ascribed to Aristoxenus reveal a uniform tendency to make the Pythagoreans champions of liberty and to interpret their dominance in Southern Italy as an influence rather than an actual hegemony.

Chapter II (27-32) deals with the sources of Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus. The latter represents the popular tradition, while Aristoxenus transmits chiefly the lore of the "last Pythagoreans," whom he knew personally. He is therefore the more reliable on ques-

tions of chronology and of fact, when the latter have no particular moral or political bearing, but less to be trusted for the general character of the Pythagorean rule and the revolution against it.

Chapter III (33-67) is on Timaeus and the chief authors who represent him—Polybius, Diodorus, and Justin, as well as a number of passages in Iamblichus. Iambl. 11-19 offers a pretty complete chronology of Pythagoras's life; but von Fritz argues that here as well as in 254-65 Apollonius, who was Iamblichus's immediate source, has confused the dates by expanding Pythagoras's early life (sojourns in Egypt and Babylon) and by crowding most of the Pythagorean history of the fifth century into his later years. Polybius, on the other hand, tells a clear and straightforward story; this he owes to Timaeus, who had the advantage of seeing the history of the Order within the larger frame of Italian history.

Chapter IV (69-93) deals with chronological problems. It is shown that the general uprising against the Pythagoreans must be dated somewhere about 450-40, and their final exodus from Italy about 390. South Italian coins give evidence of Crotonian hegemony or dominant position in the later sixth century and first half of the fifth.

Chapter V (94-102) takes up the more general question of the nature of the Pythagorean "rule." The author argues that it never had any political organization extending over the Italian cities, but like Freemasonry in the eighteenth century was powerful only because so many leading statesmen were also members or adherents of the Order. In their earliest period the Pythagoreans must have had a radical program; but around the middle of the fifth century they were on the side of aristocracy against democracy, and by the beginning of the fourth they were defending a moderate democracy against the inroads of tyranny, chiefly in the person of Dionysius.

There are three short appendices (103-8) on the interpretation of certain passages in Iamblichus.

Such a sketch of the contents of the book is most inadequate; for inevitably the results depend on detailed analyses which cannot be reproduced here. These analyses are invariably sober, careful, and free from airy conjecture. They inspire confidence. In the reviewer's opinion, the surest results have been attained for Aristoxenus; on Timaeus one may doubt whether the last word has been said. Since the chronology accepted by von Fritz is chiefly that of Aristoxenus, its value is not thereby jeopardized.

Some questions and reservations occur, first of all as to the nature of the Pythagorean rule. Does not the language of Iamblichus (that is, of Aristoxenus), 249, *ἐν τῇ Μίλεως οἰκίᾳ ἐν Κρότωνι συνέδρευόντων τῶν Ηιθαγορέων καὶ βουλευομένων περὶ πολιτικῶν πραγ-*

μάτων, suggest that the Order was a bit more tightly organized politically than von Fritz admits? A *συνέδριον* is a representative body; and this one was debating political matters solely, so far as we are told. It was composed of leading statesmen, not saints or scholars. This smacks of a party organization extending over the south of Italy, with *συνέδρια* (Timaeus apud Polyb. II 39) in the various cities and a chief *συνέδριον* in Croton.

The dates of Pythagoras himself are still not clear. Granting that Apollonius has padded the earlier years and that Pythagoras was probably born nearer 560 than 589 (implied on page 54), still if he came to Italy in 529, as von Fritz, following Rostagni, believes, one is embarrassed to account for his remaining years, since Iamblichus 265 makes him die at 99 or thereabouts after being head of the Order for 39 years. He must, then, have died between 470 and 460. This seems to have been Timaeus's dating (frag. 81; see pages 49, 55). The rock on which the author's calculations split is the unswerving assumption that Pythagoras must have come to Italy some years before the "destruction" of Sybaris in 510, since it was thanks to his training that the Crotonians won. The evidence (pages 31 n. 5, 46, 50, 56, 63, 68, 81, 83-84) points again and again to Kothe's dating of this "destruction" in 478-67. Pythagoras himself must have left Croton in 479 at the latest, and the rebellion seems to have broken out shortly afterward, partly out of resentment over the refusal of the Pythagoreans to distribute the land won from the Sybarites (Iambl. 255). The Pythagoreans were exiled; and since later, after the amnesty and their return from exile (*ibid.* 264), even the "older" of them can very well have fought for Croton against Thurii, Apollonius can be acquitted of the charge of having played fast and loose with at least this part of the chronology (62-3).

There are some misprints. Page 8: comma should be after *φιλοσόφῳ* instead of *Πιθαγόρας*. 13: "the omission of one δέ." The reader is confused by the fact that δέ is already omitted (after *Αθροισθέντες*) in the initial quotation. 16: for "348-51" read "248-51." For "349" read "249." 23: for "Iambl. 230" read "239." For "129" read "127." *Ibid.* n. 39: for "context" read "text"? 28: Aristotle was born in 384, not 487. 52, line 3: *ἀπὸν*. 67 heading: *TIMAOIS*. On page 39 the Scholia Platonica should be referred to by the new edition, ed. Greene, Haverford 1938.

Such quisquilia aside, Professor von Fritz has excellently performed an indispensable service. His own wish is that the book should become a cornerstone for further work on the early history of Pythagoreanism; and such it will be for a long time to come.

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ANCIENT AUTHORS

Aristotle. CARL SELMER. *A Latin Collection of Pseudo-Aristoteian Paroimiai and Its Relation to the Sayings of the Seven Sages*. Of the sixteen pseudo-Aristotelian proverbs contained in Codex 142, f. 66v, of the Munich University Library, fourteen may be traced back to the collection of classical apothegms known as the Sayings of the Seven Sages. The other two originated with Plutarch and Ben Sira. PhQ 19 (1940) 328-36 (P. F. Jones)

Boethius. V. L. DEDECK-HÉRY. *The Manuscripts of the Translation of Boethius' Consolatio by Jean de Meung*. Lists the seventeen known MSS of this thirteenth-century French translation, classifies them in two main branches with several subordinate groups, and discusses their respective merits, Paris B.N. Fr. 1097 being designated as closest to the original text. Speculum 15 (1940) 432-43 (Heironimus)

De Viris Illustribus. GERHARD BENDZ. *Eine lateinische Exempliographie. Bemerkungen über den anonymen Liber de viris illustribus urbis Romae*. Much of the material of De Viris Illustribus is drawn from the books of exempla. The anonymous author seems to have used in part secondary sources based on the exempla, but the evidence does not indicate that the book is an epitome. ΔΡΑΓΜΑ 56-67 (Salyer)

Eustathius. HAROLD W. MILLER. *Euripides and Eustathius*. Eustathius' quotations from Euripides are surprisingly accurate. He must have had a MS of at least five of the plays. AJPh 61 (1940) 422-8 (De Lacy)

Herodotus. GAWRIIL KAZAROW. *Zu Herodotus V, A*. A ninth-century Arabic description of the Eastern Slavs contains a partial parallel to the Herodotean report that the Trausi bewailed the birth of a child, while death affected them with joy and laughter. PhW 60 (1940) 410-1 (Plumpe)

Homer. ALOIS GOTSMICH. *Πλεκτὴ ἀνάδεσμη*. Continues examination of Andromache's coiffure (Il. 22.468-70; on *Kekrypha'os* cf. PhW 60 [1940] 412-6). The article was a periwig-like arrangement of braids covering the temples and forehead. Replacement by a frontlet of gold (representations of which show that it succeeded a periwig, not a diadem) did not remove the imputation of magical powers to the anadesme. It has survived in Bosnia to this day. PhW 60 (1940) 476-80 (Plumpe)

Pausanias. MILTON GIFFLER. *Two Confirmations of Pausanias*. 1. Thucydides (1.101.2) and Plutarch (Cim. 16) date the earthquake at Sparta in 465-4, Pausanias (4.24.5), in 464-3. There is no contradiction: the Dorian year (Thucydides states that he follows Peloponnesian sources) overlaps the Athenian by two months. The earthquake must have taken place in the fall, during the first two months of 464-3. 2. Livy (3.6) tells of a terrible plague that travelled far. This is connected with a lost plague of Pausanias who states (8.30.4; 41.8f.) that under the direction of Ictinus a temple was built at

Bassae to Apollo for deliverance from a plague. Paus. 1.3.4 and IG 12.1009 probably refer to the same catastrophe.

PhW 60 (1940) 474-6 (Plumpe)

Tacitus. FRITZ WALTER. *Zum Dialog des Tacitus*. 39.12 read *pa<r>t<i>p>ronus* for *patronus* (the alliteration lending stress to the phrase); 42.6, *con<tra>* for *cum*. Emendations previously suggested by the author, but not adopted in the Kostermann edition, are offered again.

PhW 60 (1940) 573-5 (Plumpe)

LITERARY HISTORY. CRITICISM

FUCILLA, JOSEPH G. *The Horatianism of Antonio Ferreira*. While Ferreira, a sixteenth-century Portuguese poet, shows evidence of influence by Moschus, Anacreon and Seneca, the greatest number of parallels are to be found between his work and Horace, Vergilius 6 (1940) 8-16 (McCracken)

MOREL, W. *Passio SS. Machabaeorum* 5.28. Proposes to read *voltus* (gen. sing.) for *motus* of the corrupt "move quosvis ficti motus cachinnos." CR 54 (1940) 13-4 (F. Jones)

MULLENS, H. G. *The Decadence Theme in Augustan Literature*. The pessimistic view that contemporary life was inferior to that of 'the good old days,' a theme to be found in Livy's preface, in Sallust's Catiline 3, and pre-eminently in Horace's Odes 3.1-6, is in accord with the Augustan policy of showing that the emperor's acts separate him completely from the period of the civil wars. Later writers, e.g. Tacitus and Juvenal, also utilize the theme, the latter from personal reasons, but Tacitus from a desire to show that the policies of Nerva and Trajan similarly represented a return to the Golden Age after the decadence under Domitian. Vergilius 6 (1940) 26-31 (McCracken)

STANFORD, W. B. *Ghosts and Apparitions in Homer, Aeschylus, and Shakespeare*. Rôle of Patroclus' ghost in Iliad compared with that of Hamlet's father in motivating action and creating pathos. Prophetic clairvoyance of Theoclymenus in the Odyssey, Cassandra in the Agamemnon, and of Caesar's ghost in Julius Caesar. Invocation of ghosts in Odyssey, Persians, II Henry VI. Rôles of "weird sisters" in Macbeth and Furies in Eumenides. Hermathena 56 (1940) 84-92 (Taylor)

LINGUISTICS. GRAMMAR. METRICS

VENTRIS, M. G. F. *Introducing the Minoan Language*. Minoan is not Greek, but almost certainly an Asiatic language. As the two Eteocretan inscriptions from Praesos seem to be IE, they are unrelated to Minoan, as is also the Phaistos disc. The slight evidence from Egypt makes it improbable that Minoan was either IE or Semitic. The geographical distribution of Minoan and the similarity of Lemnian and Etruscan combine to suggest that Etruscan is the nearest relative of Minoan. Both Etruscan and (as deduced from the Cypriote syllabary) Minoan lack the voiced stops. Both phonetics and morphology point to their being variants of a single "Pelasgian" language, modified by the space of a thousand years. Insufficiency of data still prevents comparison of their vocabularies. By assigning to the symbols of the linear scripts the phonetic values of the corresponding symbols in the Cypriote syllabary, a preliminary analysis of the Minoan names is made; the suffixes show great similarity to those in Etruscan. Lines of future investigation on the basis here given are suggested.

AJA 44 (1940) 494-520 (Walton)

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